[112 cont.]

502 Ndeni (4). Coote says of those on the Reef Islands that they sail

4. Dalrymple, p. 195. Burney, p. 290.

badly against the wind, but that before the wind they sail very well. The frequent capsizing of the boats, despite the outrigger, [481] does not disconcert the occupants; swimming in the water, they right the vessel again, remove the water in large part by a swinging motion, and scoop out the rest with the water scoops. With the large sea-going boats they go far beyond sight of land, guided only by their knowledge of the points of the compass and the stars. Of special significance for sea journeys is the time of the [132] monsoon, which lasts approximately from February to April. According to Coote, the natives were able to tell the exact location of their island even from a great distance, and the same traveler [868] observed how an older boy on the ship taught a younger one the 484 names of the stars (5). There is lively traffic between the

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5. Dillon, p. 219 (monsoon = rakeys). D'Urville, p. 194. Gaimard, ibid., p. 338. Coote, pp. 151 f. Joest in Baessler, p. 395.

individual parts of the group, as well as with the neighboring Polynesian islands, the heaviest between Ndeni and the Reef Islands and between Vanikoro and Tikopia. Moreover, Ndeni and the Reef Islands have contact with Sikaiana, as does Vanikoro [304] with Ndeni and the Reef Islands. A native of Vanikoro was tattooed on Mami, an island adjacent to Ndeni, and since then he has visited almost all the Reef Islands. Through Tikopia, the Vanikorese were also familiar with the Banks Islands. A native 823 of Vanikoro was able [113] to draw a large number of the islands on a sketch which, of course, was inaccurate (1). Mixed marriages

1. Dalrymple, pp. 146 ff. Burney, pp. 290 ff. Dillon, pp. 158, 167, 268.

[113 cont.]

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[113]

Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 307. D'Urville, pp. 113, 136, 176, 193, 197. Coote, p. 157. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 81. According to D'Urville, pp. 322 and 362, a native of Uea lived on Tikopia. According to Thilenius, Ethnograph. Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 27, and Globus, LXXXI, p. 135, Ndeni also trades with some of the New Hebrides; despite Codrington, did this come about through European influence?

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[191]

Mixed marriages between Vanikoro and Tikopia took place, at least among the chiefs' families. A number of Vanikorese understood the Polynesian idioms. At times Vanikoro stood in a dependent relationship with Tikopia, a situation whose aftereffects may have included the worship on Vanikoro of an atua[1] from Tikopia in D'Urville's day (2). Chiefly, however, traffic between the in-

[776]

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2. Dillon, p. 167. D'Urville, pp. 155, 211; on Vanikoro Gaimard observed a dance imported from Tikopia (in D'Urville, p. 333) and reports, p. 342, that the language of Utupua and Ndeni was known. Cf. also Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 ff.

[535]

dividual islands is based on commercial interests: Vanikoro obtained tapa and fine mats from Tikopia, whereas Tikopia obtained mother-of-pearl and finished articles, such as necklaces made from cowrie-like shells (?) and bows and arrows, from Vanikoro (3).

3. Dillon, p. 171.

[313]

For the northern islands as far as Sikaiana, Vanikoro was the chief export point for wood for boat-building, because of its forests(4).

1 [atua = supernatural beings or gods--Analyst.]

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

[113 cont.]
396 forests (4). The boat-building industry itself also flourished there; 1/A

[000] 4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

a chief is mentioned as a great boat-builder (5). After the

5. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 332, 334. Dewar, p. 248, mentions boat-building on Ndeni.

[427] catastrophe of La Pérouse, which dumped large quantities of ironwork into the laps of the natives there, there was a decline in the industry of the island, which thereafter obtained almost all its needs in industrial products from the neighboring islands in exchange for iron (6).

[438 439]

6. D'Urville, p. 196.

437 Trade is everywhere a vital concern of the inhabitants. They always sailed out to meet European travelers with coconuts, [439] yams, etc., pigs, chickens, pigeons, arrows, mats, boat models or toy boats, and other things, in order to initiate trade (7). Yet

7. Labillardière, p. 251. Dillon, p. 293. Wilson, p. 295. Markham, p. 159. Coote, pp. 151, 153, 159. Dewar, p. 246. According to Dillon, p. 264, the women, in their own boats, also took part in this trade.

they are difficult to deal with. The Vanikorese had scarcely been provided with a certain amount of European necessities by [435] Dillon when they demanded exorbitant prices for all provisions from the subsequent expedition of D'Urville (8). On Ndeni Dewar

8. D'Urville, p. 145 and elsewhere.

1/A [i.e., on Vanikoro -- Analyst.]

1: Graebner--96 E-4 (no date) 1909 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[121 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 50.

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1-6 and 8. Made of strips of pandanus leaves (R.-J.-M. 3857, 3846, 3863, 3872, 3902, 3910, and 3915, Joest Coll.); about 35, 30, 22, and 20 cm. high, 33, 31, and 35 cm. in diameter. 7. (Sack) of soft fiber (R.-J.-M. 3866, Joest Coll.); 46 cm. deep. 9 and 10. Made of strips of coconut leaves (R.-J.-M. 3843 and 3841, Joest Coll.); about 34 and 25 cm. in diameter.

[123 cont.]

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the lower edge are plaited in toward the corners, but rather the center ones form a short plaited [Fig. 52 appears here] lappet on either side, which, in turn ends in a braid-like cord that is drawn up through the sides of the bag and serves as a carrying-strap (Fig. 51, Nos. 2 and 3).

As for baskets, only the well-known cylindrical baskets of plaited coconut leaves are present. Among them, too, the edge is single-meshed, and then the main portion of the sides is plaited in triple-mesh with strips in one-half or one-third widths. The bottom consists of half the number of strips, though in each case several are gathered together, and is single-meshed; in one specimen, another narrow single-meshed zone is previously inserted. The excess strips, plaited into rings, lie spirally under the edge of the basket bottom (Fig. 52). [Fig. 53 appears here.]

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[171]

A knowledge of weaving gives the culture of Santa Cruz a special character in contrast to the rest of Melanesia (1).

1. Dalrymple, p. 194. According to Thilenius, Globus, LXXXI, p. 134, it is practiced on Ndeni only along the coast, and the fabric is traded to the people of the bush for bark cloth.

[184
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Banana fiber is the material used, but it is considerably wider

/191 cont./

501

ordinary form of oar also occurs on Vanikoro (cf. Lennier, Pl. I, III, V). According to Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 165, the oars are supposedly often carved with representations of the frigate bird. The rudder of the sail-boats of the Reef Islands can be seen very well in an illustration in O'Ferrall, section "Sailing Canoe." According to it one cannot call the blade heart-shaped, as Graebner does. It is used from the smaller platform of the sail-boats (Coombe, p. 197).]

[532]

[The boat scoop shown in Ethn., I, p. 111, Fig. 42, No. 1, does not come from Santa Cruz, according to a specimen in the k. k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Vienna, but from Efate, New Hebrides (5).]

5. [The Viennese specimen (No. 41609) has the original label: "Fort Franceville, Sandwich Island." This is the very island that Wilhelm Joest was on before his journey to Santa Cruz. Dr. Speiser believes that our specimen, too, more likely originated from Efate. Cf. also the stylistically related wooden bowl, Fig. 59 on p. 131.]

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Trade (6) between Nitendi and the Reef Islands consists

6. [Ethn., I, pp. 112 f.]

chiefly of the acquisition of girls from the Reef Islands by

/191 cont./

436 [548] Nitendi men in order to rear them as village prostitutes, while the Reef Islanders obtain sago from their previously mentioned properties on Nitendi (7). It cannot be said that the natives 437

7. [See above, pp. 71 f.]

of Nitendi are more unpleasant in trading than the other primitive inhabitants of the South Seas. As a rule, they come to an agreement rather quickly, and a constant rise in prices seldom occurs.

436 Feather money (8) is the most important object of value,

8. [Ethn., I, pp. 114 f. The statement there that various pieces [114] of wood carving and other objects are fastened to the ends is an error; cf. Foy, Ethn., II, p. 145, footnote 9. In part this is a matter of reinforcements or packing for the rolls of money (in Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 165, No. 2, the meaning is not at all clear), [118] in part amulets. Concerning the amulets that are packed in, each with special magical power, see also Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 164. Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 163, No. 2, illustrate one specimen of the painted rectangular boards, which perhaps are only amulets, and I am showing two more specimens with interesting appendages here (Fig. 35). Two other similar boards are to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig (Me 1093 and 1094). In the case of one specimen of feather money in the R.-J.-M., No. 30582 (Speiser Coll.), the ends are sewed

/200 cont./

411

[938]

arrow shafts were undecorated. -- The Reef Islanders obtain their arrows from Nitendi (Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 105), where they are made on the west coast (Coombe, p. 187).]

to find any specimens in which the entire point is made of bone, as in the specimen, No. 12, illustrated there (7). While the

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7. [O'Ferrall, section "A 'Club-House'" = Coombe, p. 190 (together with Ethn., I, p. 134), confirms that bone points were made from disinterred human bones. According to the same author, the points are are smeared with red to transmit "malete" to them.]

[965]

[1118]

origin of the ordinary decorations on the wooden intermediate section [Ethn., I, p. 137, Fig. 62, Nos. 12-42; AfA, new series, VIII, p. 310, Figs. 3-14] is obviously from barbed hooks, the meaning of the /201/ peculiar carving [occurring on a certain type] just below the point [Ethn., I, Fig. 62, Nos. 17-28; AfA, new series, VIII, Figs. 7, 8, 10, 13] is unclear. /Fig. 47 appears here./ Perhaps it can be traced back to the zigzag pattern of a lashing such as is often found on New Hebrides arrows and would in this case be imitated in wood, like the barbed hooks. One side of the arrow, however, is always smooth at this place, perhaps so that the arrow will slide easily along the bow.

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The marksmanship of the natives does not seem to be outstanding. At 25 meters, six archers were able to hit the rib of a palm leaf stuck in the ground one meter high only once in 20 shots. /Fig. 48 appears here./ They shoot with extraordinary force, however; the arrows almost penetrate the trunk of a coconut palm, and the maximal range is about 200 meters.

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
CN13 Santa Cruz CN13

[795(D)]

131 are scattered over some 15,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean just north of the New Hebrides Islands. Santa Cruz, a volcanic island, is the largest in the group as well as its financial center. About 25 miles to the north is a chain of small coral islets called the Reef Islands, and midway between these and Santa Cruz [133] is Tinakula, a volcano too spectacularly [361] active for human settlement. The Duff Islands, 60 miles northeast of the Reefs, are remnant peaks of a narrow volcanic ridge. The only other large islands of the group are Utupua and Vanikoro, respectively some 40 and 60 miles south of Santa Cruz.

177 Partly as the result of a long history of inhospitality to visiting mariners and missionaries, the islands were left pretty much to themselves even through the first two decades of this century, when colonial powers were asserting dominion over other islands in the Pacific. It was not until 1923 that the British assumed [648] direct administration of the islands, which they had claimed since 1898, and only since World War II has the Santa Cruz group actually been drawn into the current of world affairs. Today some 161 7,000 people inhabit the islands, most of them concentrated along the north coast of Santa Cruz and in the eastern Reef Islands. The people of the Duffs 144 and the western Reefs speak a Poly- 197 nesian language and are racially similar to the Polynesians of the central Pacific islands. The darker Melanesians of the eastern Reefs and Santa Cruz itself speak four local languages that constitute an independent language family. Melanesians also live on Utupua and Vanikoro, but their three languages belong to the large Malayo-Polynesian 184 family. The cultures of Santa Cruz and 436 the islands north of it are similar in spite of language and racial differences, and ●438 it is through this area that the red-

3:Davenport E-5 (1968-1980)1982
C013 Santa Cruz 6013

438 [436] [184] feather money circulates. Utupua and Vanikoro have different cultures and do not use feather currency, although their economy is closely linked to that of the red-feather islands.

Diversity and specialization, necessitated in part by differences in geology and geography, characterize the econ-

[+ 96(A)]

McDougall Z-6 (1958-1969)1982
CSCS Santa Cruz CSCS

438 [262] omies of the islands. Santa Cruz, where there is plenty of arable land, exports taro root and yams, the staple vegetables of these people, to the Reef Islands, where the sandy soil will not grow good root crops. The natives of certain islands and districts with particular types of reef offshore, with lagoons or with easy

[f 96(B)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1858-1869)1922
CSCI3 Santa Cruz CSCI3

438 access to the deep sea are exporters of fish; pigs are bred in sandy areas where coconuts for feeding are plentiful, and several kinds of arboriculture are associated with the rainfall and forest cover peculiar to other areas. But specialization goes beyond ecology. Such arts as the raising and training of hunting dogs,

[463]

[text continues on p. 97(A)]

[p. 96(C)]

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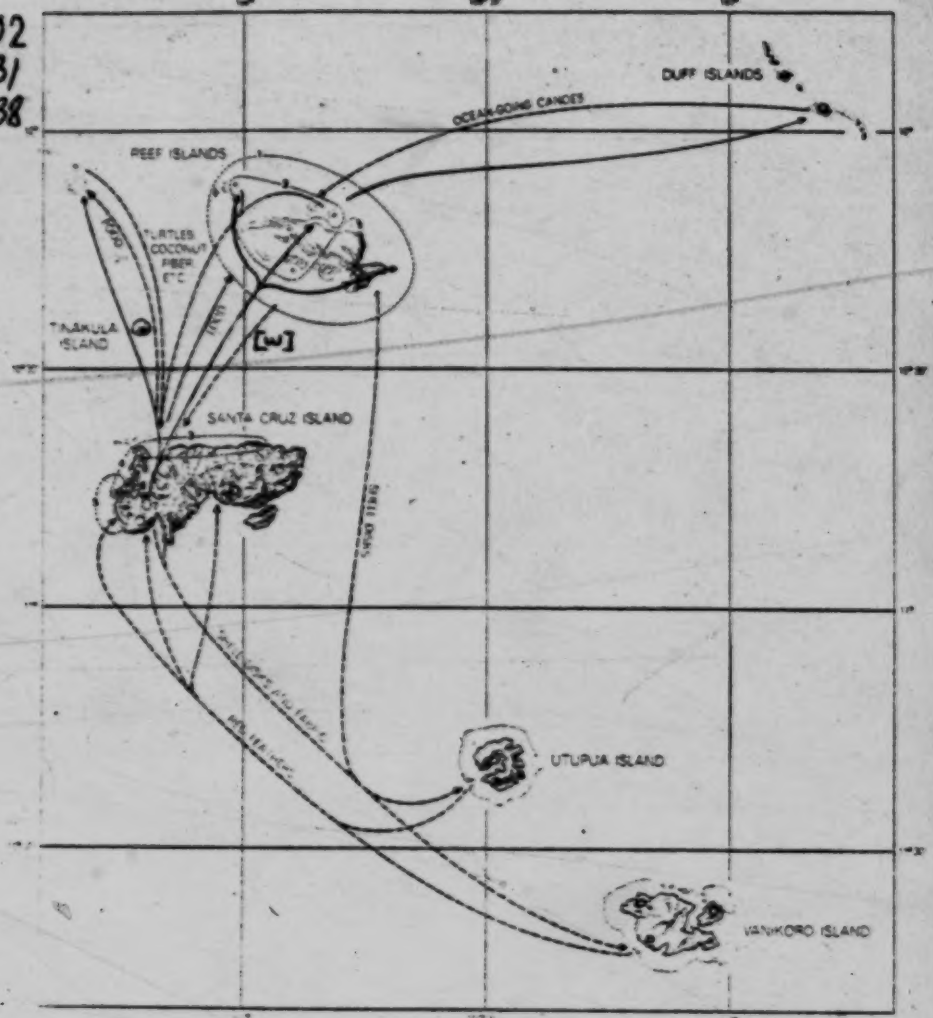
● 438



[Legend appears on p. 97(A)]

[↓96 (D)]

3:Davenport E-6 (1959-1960)1988
CN13 Santa Cruz CN13

438 ECONOMIC MAP of the Santa Cruz group shows the specialized areas of origin of some of the major agricultural and manufactured

[4 96 (E)]

●438 products and the complex trade pattern made feasible by the red-feather monetary system. Feather money, which is made only in

[496 (F)]

438 canoe building, weaving, the manufacturing of bark cloth, tools and ornaments—and currency making—are indigenous to one or another small island or to one village on an island. Each of these specialized industries and crafts is regarded by its practitioners as a right inherited in the family line, and only [428] individuals in the proper line of succession may manufacture currency, go shark fishing, build canoes or follow any other trade.

438 This primitive division of labor requires in many instances that raw or semiprocessed materials be brought from one district or island to another, where the goods are finished for local consumption or for export. In the busy commerce of the interisland economy 437 goods are rarely bartered. They are sold for currency: feather money or, increasingly, Australian currency. For all who participate the motivation of this trade goes beyond the exchange of necessities and native luxuries; the islanders buy and sell for the express purpose of making money. The accumulation of money 556 is the way to prestige. But since the currency itself is perishable, prestige finds its tangible expression in spending as well as in accumulation, above all in helping to buy brides for members of one's family and friends and in giving [642] feasts. Prestige won in these ways is the source of political power and authority.

436 The red-feather currency is made only [438] on Santa Cruz Island. It is made on [675] contract for a specific purchaser, who negotiates individually with the three different hereditary specialists whose combined skills are required for its [469] manufacture. The first specialist snares the little jungle bird whose down sup-

438 102

1 EXPORTERS OF WOMEN
2 NAVIGATORS AND TRADERS
3 ARBORICULTURE
4 PIG BREEDING
5 SHARK FISHING
6 SPECIALIZED CRAFTS
7 TARO GROWING

——— RED-FEATHER CURRENCY
——— WOMEN [ω]
——— GOODS AND PRODUCE
O FEATHERS AND SHINGLES
• CURRENCY BINDING

438 certain districts of Santa Cruz Island, circulates there and in the Reefs and Duffs.

[p97 (A)]

435 436 [463] money changing specialize in it and make a profit. These transactions take place before an informal gathering of witnesses in the men's clubhouse of a village, where the pieces of currency are draped over a horizontal bar for close comparison. Regardless of who has initiated the deal, the piece of greatest value (the "high piece") is hung over the center of the bar. Alongside it (and always in the direction of the Nembo River, a spring-fed stream symbolically associated with the currency spirits) is hung the "base piece," the most valuable of the belts to be exchanged for the high piece. On the other side is hung the "crown piece," the piece that makes up the difference in value between the base piece and the high piece. Values are matched in terms of the 10-point scale. For example, if the high piece is an average No. 6 and the base piece is a fine No. 7, a middling No. 7 may suffice as a crown. [776] [778]

In this manner the par value of the high piece is agreed on. But the price at which it now actually sells is something else again. Because high-value currency is scarcer than low-value currency, the owner of the high piece is a seller in a seller's market. The buyer (the owner of the base and crown pieces) must offer additional currency. It is not only that the high piece is newer; there are fewer new pieces in circulation. Hence market value is correlated to scarcity. The greater the par value of the high piece, the greater the spread between this value and the market price. (It is as though a $10 bill were worth a little more than two fives and a $20 bill worth more than two tens by a still larger margin.) It is the difficulty and expense of obtaining high-value pieces on the exchange market that ultimately leads a man to contract with the three currency specialists for a new piece.

●438 Since all the feather currency originates on Santa Cruz Island, it must flow continually from its source to the Reef and Duff islands, where it is not manufactured. To maintain this one-way flow of currency the Reef Islanders have traditionally exported some of their women to Santa Cruz. Today the women go only as wives but once some went as concubines. Concubines were clearly distinguished from wives: they were shared by a group of men; they did no gardening or other domestic chores; having no dwelling of their own, they lived in the men's clubhouse. On the other hand, a concubine's possessors [595] [548]

[4 102(c)]

3:Davenport 3-5 (1960-1969)1982
CN13 Santa Cruz CN13

438 could purvey her services as a prostitute, sell her outright or even kill her [595] without fear of retaliation. None of these [548] things could be done with wives. But since the purchase price of a concubine was 10 times higher than a bride price, selling a girl into concubinage had its attractions for many Reef Island families. The British Government has forbidden the practice, but Reef Island [177] women still go south as wives. Their [583] bride prices are the main source of currency for their home islands. An im- [554] ported wife brings extra prestige to a Santa Cruz man, and bride prices for Reef women run about twice as high as they do for domestic wives.

The Duff Islanders get their feather currency not by selling women but by building large sailing canoes that carry on interisland traffic in passengers and cargo. The men of the Duffs do not en- [437] gage in that traffic themselves; they sell the canoes for feather currency to the [505] people of a few of the western Reef Islands, who in turn specialize in voyaging and trading throughout the islands. These mariners sail even to the southern islands of Utupua and Vanikoro in search of trade. The two islands are outside the feather-currency area, but their people until recently depended on the [436] canoes to bring them the shell disks and lengths of woven cloth they used as currency. For these precious items they [437] traded, at fixed rates, packets of red honey eater feathers, and these were resold on Santa Cruz to the makers of feather currency. In this manner the two different money systems became interlocked and interdependent, and the economies of north and south remain so today, even though there is no longer any traffic in currency materials.

177 Since the end of World War II the
436 Santa Cruz monetary system has come under pressure from the world outside. More and more Australian money has flowed into the islands; it circulates along with the feather currency and is completely interchangeable with it. Today the rate of exchange is roughly one shilling for a piece of feather money of minimum value. This makes the par value of a No. 1 piece 512 shillings, or about 25 Australian pounds. Figured in [464] terms of labor (at the prevailing net wage rate for unskilled labor in the central Solomons, where most Santa Cruz men work at some point in their lives), the value of a new piece of currency is roughly comparable: about 20 to 24 pounds.

458 Plantation wages have nearly trebled
177 since 1945. The great increase in the

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

458 177 [435] quantity of Australian money within the Santa Cruz group has caused a precipitate fall in its value in terms of local goods. Once a shilling bought 10 pounds of native tobacco; now it buys half a pound. During the same period, in an [438] effort to increase copra production by channeling more islanders into plantation work, the colonial administration [648] has taken steps that tend to depress interisland and intervillage trade in domestic products. Less feather currency is needed and less is being produced. [287] At the moment there are only five men on Santa Cruz who bind currency, whereas a decade ago there were more [583] than a dozen. Yet marriages go on as before, and men still refuse to marry off their daughters without receiving the traditional red-feather payment. Indeed, there is no area of the islands' economy in which confidence in the feather currency has been shaken. The [465] craft and agricultural specialists still demand red-feather money for their best products.

With the value of feather currency rising as it becomes scarcer and that of Australian money dropping as it becomes more abundant, the market [436] price of feather currency in Australian pounds has increased nearly 20 times in the past 15 years. Although it is recognized that 25 Australian pounds is the appropriate par value for a new piece of feather money, it takes considerably more than that to induce the currency specialists to turn one out. This is, to [223] be sure, not true in the case of the bird [825] snarers. As a result of the decreased production of feather money, the *Myzomela cardinalis* population has been increasing; the snarers can take birds more easily and in more accessible places and they would be willing to work for the old rates. But the labor involved in making platelets and binding new currency [287] has not diminished. Like skilled artisans anywhere, the specialists in these processes prefer to charge more and work less. In pricing their labor they are mindful not only of today's high market but also of the fact that the value of their product in Australian money is likely to be even greater as time passes. As a result the production of feather currency has now fallen behind even the currently reduced demand. As the "bad" Australian money drives out the "good" red-feather currency in accordance with Gresham's law, a simple society in the South Seas is experiencing a monetary crisis familiar to many more sophisticated economies.

4: Davenport E-5 (1958-1960) 1961 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

121
177
436

101
[131]
[133]
[161]
[197]
[184]

184
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[463]

[428]

dant sandy areas where coconuts can be grown to feed them; taro production with a special type of soil; and types of arboriculture with rainfall zones and forestry cover.

As implied by this individual and regional specialization, there is a complex system of trade through which these products are distributed. But this trade is far more than a means of conveying products of one area to another. It is a system in which all those who participate do so with the intention of making a profit. It is real commerce, and the wealth amassed in this way is expended in bride prices, maturation feasts, rituals, and entertainments through which the initiators and organizers derive prestige. In the familiar Melanesian pattern, prestige, wealth, and authority are but three aspects of the same thing, namely, the political system.

While goods of many kinds flow in several directions, there are some goods which move only in specific directions, and which are basic to the entire system. One of these is feather currency, in terms of which all transactions are made. This is an all-purpose currency, and it is made only on Santa Cruz Island. Its manufacture demands the combined skills of three different hereditary specialists. The currency itself is a belt, six fathoms long, about two inches wide, and made of feathers, fiber, and cord. The feathers are the red down from the breast, head, and back of a small honeysucker *(Myzomela cardinalis)*. Catching these birds in the forest and plucking the down from them is one of the specialties. The second specialty consists of pasting the red down onto platelets or shingles made of ordinary wood pigeon *(Columba* sp.) feathers with the sticky sap taken from the fruit of the paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*. The third specialist binds these shingles onto a cord foundation to make the finished belt. A piece of finished currency has one surface of red down and an undersurface which shows only the binding. The feathered surface, made up of overlapping shingles, sometimes resembles the flexible scutes of a snake.

Feather currency is perishable, for it gets damaged and worn with use and by the ravages of vermin, molds, and mildews. As it gets worn and damaged, it decreases in value and eventually becomes worthless. Thus, new currency must be fed into the system to replace that which is worn out and discarded. Feather currency is of absolutely no other use than as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and as a means of storing wealth. It cannot be worn, it is not displayed, and it cannot be converted into any other usable form. From this it can be seen that it has all the properties of true money, yet it circulates as a commodity in a free market without regulation except for those forces created by supply and demand. Unlike our money, which we distinguish from commodities, feather currency has some of the properties of durable goods whose value depreciates over time. The original value of a piece of currency is determined by its size and the richness of its color when new. These criteria are reducible to the number of birds used and the amount of labor required for its construction. For an average piece today, about three hundred birds are necessary. The total labor required by all three specialties is roughly ten to eleven work weeks or about five hundred to six hundred and fifty man-hours. Depreciation of the currency is measured also by two criteria: the amount of red down worn off through handling and defects caused by insects and tropical growths. When the last bit of red disappears from the top surface, the currency becomes valueless and is thrown away.

In addition to the value as determined by the four criteria just mentioned, every piece of currency has its rarity value. This rarity value is always negotiated separately when currencies are exchanged, that is, when one piece is changed for two or more of lower value. The rarity value is an expression of how badly the purchaser of a highly valued piece wants it, and this, of course, is determined by its scarcity. It is a fact that the

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market.

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all--women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives--ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions.

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained.

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands.

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom.

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned